2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

159 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoxomi'x). Herman dipped
253 up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day
846 the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting
846 and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

[4] See page 141.

553 853 574 The naming feast took place about a year later (when the baby ate solid food for the first time). It was at this time that the full introduction of the infant into society took place. The ceremony was more elaborate and on a larger scale than was the blessing ceremony.

The crier was summoned by the father of the child and was asked to go about the village or camp announcing that the feast was to be held. Everyone was thereby invited. If there were a great many people present the feast might be held out of doors, but the naming was always in the house of the parents. The mother ate with the others and gave the child its first solid food. One of the grandparents, or some other old person, of the same sex as the child, picked it up and said, "Well, I am going to call my grandchild ———. That was the name of my mother's sister. My grandchild will be like her."

553 There was no special way of selecting the name to be given. The grandparent who was to perform the ceremony might make the decision. The name was always that of some dead relative on either side of the house, unless there was some aged living relative who wanted to hand his or her name over to the child before he died. A name was given away only to a relative. Names could not be bought from the former owner, but a transaction might ensue between competing brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who each desired the name for their children. There was no idea of reincarnation, but there was a feeling, rather vague and indefinite, that the child would somehow resemble, in appearance or personality, the ancestor whose name it had been given. Assuming a name was felt to be an honor to the person whose memory was thus perpetuated. The northern groups recognized this by gifts to the child from the near relatives of the person thus honored.

David Isaac's account of this was as follows. Parents naming a young child would give a dinner for their relatives. A man would say to his aunt, for example, "My mother is dead. I am going to give my little girl my mother's name. I want you to come and approve." At the feasting only the aunt would give a present to the little girl, because she would be glad that her sister's name was being perpetuated. Any friends or relatives would come to this dinner.

For this feast the parents and other relatives prepared small bunches of camas, cherries, and other foods. These were distributed among the guests before their departure, to symbolize the generosity which it was hoped would be characteristic of the child when grown. They were also pledges and reminders to the guests of the new name and position of the child.

The name thus acquired was used until after puberty. Then or thereafter a man might change his name for a variety of rea-

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' 1/4 854 [853]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day. 855 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.' 1/4

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

1/4 [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

ed, and as this was never forced, it might mean a lapse of two or three years. If the mother died at childbirth, the baby was allowed to live, and was either given to someone to nurse, or was kept alive on berry juice, soups, and so forth. If a woman had a second child before the other was weaned, both were nursed, as were twins. No precedence was given the elder twin (the first born). This may be what Teit means by his curious statement that twins were less strictly attended to than among the Thompson."

853 [845]

For a period of ten to eighteen days after the birth the mother remained in seclusion in the menstrual lodge. She might wash, but not take a sweat bath, for this would make the baby sweat also. The food tabus continued. She was fed by others, and did not cook for herself (Cecile said she might) nor for her household. She might talk to her husband only at a distance, and he could touch neither her nor the child, though he was shown the latter. His power would be harmed if he came in contact with them. He, too, was not allowed to sweat bathe, nor might he hunt or do anything strenuous that might overtax him.

846

There were several ideas current concerning the predetermination of such characters as sex and left-handedness. If the child, still unborn, faces the mother's abdomen, it will be right-handed. If it faces her back it will be left-handed: a fairly common characteristic among the Sinkaietk. If a child is left-handed, they say, "He built his face where his back should have been." Sex might be discovered by two or three means. At the winter dance a man inspired by his power might be able to tell a pregnant woman what the sex of her coming child would be. If a little boy became ashamed in the presence of a pregnant woman, it meant that she was going to have a girl; the shyness of a girl prognosticated a boy baby. No special preparations were made on the basis of these predictions, and there is no telling how seriously they were believed.

842 787

Twins were considered a very good thing. In the northern part of the area they had a reputation for intelligence and ability as diviners. A mother had no dreams or other indication that she was to give birth to twins, but "just before the birth her abdomen would become very hard, so she would know." Twinning was thought to run in families: one woman said that in her family twins appeared in alternate generations. Twins were said to be almost always of like sex. There was a conviction that only identical twins would survive. Twins were supposed to be dressed alike (of this we are doubtful) for should they be dressed otherwise, the one not favored would cry and die. The first born of twins was considered the elder. According to Lucy Joe there were no beliefs in the con-

845

20 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.